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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

STANZAS FOR THE TIMES.

Is this the land our fathers loved,
  The freedom which they toiled to win?
Is this the soil whereon they moved?
  Are these the graves they slumber in?
Are we the sons by whom are borne
The mantles which the dead have worn?

And shall we crouch above these graves,
  With craven soul and fettered lip?
Yoke in with marked and branded slaves,
  And tremble at the driver's whip?
Bend to the earth our pliant knees,
And speak—but as our masters please?

. . . .

Shall tongues be mute, when deeds are wrought
  Which well might shame extremest hell?
Shall freemen lock the indignant thought?
  Shall Pity's bosom cease to swell?
Shall Honor bleed?—Shall Truth succumb?
Shall pen, and press, and soul be dumb?

. . . .

No—guided by our country's laws,
  For truth, and right, and suffering man,
Be ours to strive in Freedom's cause,
  As Christians may—as freemen can!
Still pouring on unwilling ears
That truth oppression only fears.

—*Whittier.*

(The "Times" alluded to were those evil times of the pro-slavery meeting in Faneuil Hall, for the suppression of freedom of speech, lest it should endanger the foundations of commercial society.)

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL—
Notes 255
What is a University?—FRANCIS NEILSON.....257

CONTRIBUTED AND SELECTED—
Some Principles of the Future Religion—CLARENCE R. SKINNER.....259
Some Social Results of Idealism.—GEORGE WILLIS COOKE 259
Angels of Victory.—*Alice Hamilton*.....261
News from Europe.—FRANCIS NEILSON.....262

POETRY—
Stanzas for the Times.—*Whittier*.....253
God Prays.—*Angela Morgan*.....255

THE FIELD—
The Centenary of George Eliot.....263
Prohibition.—*H. J. Pinkett*.....263
A Call to Teachers.—*Friends' Intelligencer*.....263

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1919 Number 22

"What is Thy will for the people, God?
Thy will for the people, tell it me!
For War is swallowing up the sod
And still no help from Thee.
Thou, who art mighty, hast forgot;
And art Thou God, or art Thou not?
When wilt Thou come to save the earth?
Where death has conquered birth?"
And the Lord God whispered and said to me,
"These things shall be, these things shall be,
Nor help shall come from the scarlet skies
Till the people rise!
Till the people rise, my arm is weak;
I cannot speak till the people speak;
When men are dumb, my voice is dumb—
I cannot come till my people come."

—*Angela Morgan, in "God Prays."*

Unity offers welcome to Rev. John Morris Evans, for more than two years the successful minister of the Unitarian Church in Dayton, Ohio, now called to enter upon great work of public service in Chicago, as successor to Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Mr. Evans is happy in the traditions which he inherits, in the opportunity which he faces, in the associates with whom he will work. All Souls Church and Abraham Lincoln Centre are happy in a leader of tried efficiency high vision, and true understanding of the signs of the times. A new ministry, not unworthy to be compared with the old, is promised by this fortunate conjunction of man and institution. We shall favor our readers in a later issue with a full account of Mr. Evans and his work. J. H. H.

An indignant subscriber has recently addressed to us a letter, which we quote in part as follows:

A reading of your editorials in Unity, in which you seem to favor Bolshevism, pacifism and everything un-American has disgusted me so much that I have requested that no more copies of Unity be sent me. . . . People like you do a great deal of harm. You are so much on the uplift that you can't be on the level. The brotherhood of man, which you seem to continually harp on, is in my opinion the most pernicious idea of modern times, and utterly incompatible with that aristocracy which is essential to the well being of everybody.

We have written our irate correspondent that we quite understand his action in canceling his subscription to Unity. We plead guilty to the charge that we "harp on" the idea of "the brotherhood of man." We must also confess that we have little respect for "that aristocracy" which we indeed believe to be "utterly incompatible" with brotherhood. Unity, for nearly forty years, under the editorial control of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, preached a gospel as wide as humanity and as deep as the needs of man. It knew no barriers of race, class, nation, or creed. It sought justice and liberty for all—special privilege, consideration or respect for none. Under the present editorial management the same policy will be followed, the same ideals expounded and espoused. Unity would not be intolerant, but it has no room for any gospel which falls short of "the brotherhood of man." Our friend has done us honor in repudiating us for the reason stated. J. H. H.

Every day that passes brings added confirmation of the soundness of the pacifist diagnosis of the causes and consequences of the Great War. Deeply impressive is the recent statement of George Brandes, Denmark's great literary critic, one of the world's foremost men of letters, the man described by Romain Rolland as "the freest European spirit of our time." Asked to say how he viewed the future of Europe, Brandes declared succinctly, *"From war to war!"* "Peace!" he went on, "Peace! I do not see it. . . . It is not an era of peace that Europe is entering now, but an era of warfare, social warfare. This social war will surely run through the next fifty years. It may last a century. . . . Europe is entering an era of twilight. . . . I am astonished to find so few people realize in what danger Western civilization finds itself as a consequence of this War." Asked how he thought this new period of struggle would end, Brandes replied, "It will end in the abdication of the bourgeoisie. . . . Europe will emerge a socialist state." We wait with ill-repressed eagerness to hear what the champions of the War think today about its outcome. These men who declared that we must fight to our last dollar and our last man, who viewed the indefinite continuance of the battle with equanimity, who saw in the defeat of Germany the restoration of civilization and the dawn of a new age—what are their opinions now as they see a world ruined by their madness, and mankind in despair? It is not surprising that they are silent. But perhaps we can gain some inkling of their thoughts as we see these men, overwhelmed in the universal flood of chaos, clinging desperately to the futile straws of the Paris Treaty and Covenant. J. H. H.

There is no more significant phenomenon at the present moment than the sudden beginning of a literature of the "conscientious objector." During the war there appeared occasional pamphlets, like the remarkable *I Appeal Unto Cæsar*, by Mrs. Hobhouse; but now there seems to be coming what may not inaccurately be described as a "literature." Thus Major Walter G. Kellogg of the U. S. Board of Inquiry was so impressed by his contact with this problem,

that he wrote his book entitled *The Conscientious Objector,* in which he tells of what he saw and now thinks. Among other things is this officer's testimony to the sincerity of the "objectors." Beginning his work firmly believing "that they were as a class shirkers and cowards," he now declares that "an examination of over eight hundred objectors in twenty widely distributed military camps and posts convinced (him) that they (were), as a rule, sincere—cowards and shirkers . . . they were not." Next, as a contribution to the literature on the theme, appeared Tracy D. Mygatt's thrilling one-act play, entitled *Good Friday: A Passion Play of Now.* This drama gives a vivid and sympathetic portrayal of the spiritual issue involved in the problem, and of the lofty motives of love and brotherhood which were frequently at work. It is interesting to note that it was produced in Boston on April 19 last, at the Peabody Playhouse. Now comes a novel, *The Convictions of Christopher Sterling,* by the distinguished Englishman, Harold Begbie, written, as he tells us, in protest against the manner in which many of the "conscientious objectors" were treated in England. The story is planly modelled upon the actual character and experiences of the heroic Stephen Hobhouse. Certain it is that the "conscientious objector" is destined ultimately to come—indeed, is already coming—into his own. The unescapable spiritual issue at the heart of his protest, humanity's growing disgust for anything and everything pertaining to war, this War's egregious failure as a stuggle for ideals, above all the martyrology produced by the stupidity and cruelty of governments, are all uniting to justify and glorify his position. While other men are woefully estimating the degree of their failure in the War, he is already beholding the measure of his success. The future he knows to be his own. J. H. H.

So the ban on German music is lifted! Mrs. George Gay, redoubtable leader of the crusade against subtle German propaganda in our opera-houses and music-halls, has graciously sounded the recall; and we may believe, therefore, that the fight is over. We may again hear Wagner's music-dramas at the opera, and Strauss's tone-poems at the symphony! Thus comes to an end one of the most amusing, and at the same time one of the most humiliating episodes of the Great War. Why Wagner, who was a republican, and hated Prussianism and paid for his hate in years of exile, why Wagner should have been banished, still remains a mystery. So also with Strauss, who never believed in the War, and steadfastly refused to join any of the groups of Herr-professors who issued pronunciamentos to the world in support of the infamies of the Kaiser! And what shall we say of the excommunication visited on occasion upon the old masters such as Beethoven, Schumann and Schubert? Ignorance, of course, had its part in this silly business; also, the hysterical type of patriotism. But most of all, a total lack of art-consciousness, as is shown by the fact that America was the only one of the Allied countries thus to make a fool of herself! We have yet to learn the truth so well stated by G. Bernard Shaw:

> Literature, art and science are free of frontiers; and those who exploit them politically are traitors to the greatest republic in the world: the Republic of Art and Science.
>
> J. H. H.

> It is true the Church is defunct. . . . The vulgar believe it still lives because they can see and touch it, forgetting that a religion counts centuries in its life as minutes, and that generation after generation pass between its death and burial.

It is thus that Vicente Blasco Ibañez speaks of the Catholic Church of Spain, in his novel, *The Shadow of the Cathedral.* We recognize the truth of this diagnosis in the case of Catholicism. We know that the Roman Church perished three hundred years ago, at the time of the Reformation; and that since that momentous epoch there has been going on a process of decay, leading surely, even if slowly, to ultimate burial. But how many of us recognize that this statement of the great Spanish novelist is now equally true of Protestantism—that this epoch of revolutionary democratic change marks the death of our Protestant churches just as definitely as the Reformation marked the death of the Papal churches? Protestantism, as an outward social institution, will survive for generations—perhaps for centuries. Tradition, habit, endowments, will unite to retard the process of dissolution, and postpone the final moment of burial. But death has already intervened; and those who desire to walk the ways of life, must turn to other and vital expressions of religious idealism. Some of us believe that the Community Church presents the most promising spiritual experiment of our time. In this we may be mistaken. But that Protestantism is dead, and a new religion waiting to be born, is as certain as that Martin Luther nailed the theses to the cathedral door. J. H. H.

It is amusing to note, whenever a reform movement of any kind is started and carried through to initial success, with what enthusiastic unanimity its enemies point out two damning facts. In the first place, they hasten to declare that this movement is unwise, highly dangerous and bound to fail. In the second place, as a final and perfect condemnation, they assert that the movement is nothing new; on the contrary, it is only a restatement of what was tried long ago with fine success, and is now accepted everywhere by far-seeing men. Thus, in a recent very mournful article in a New York newspaper about the North Dakota situation, the new laws recently

adopted by referendum vote are roundly denounced as socialistic, even Bolshevistic, in character. Then, as final evidence of the folly of the Dakotans, it is blandly pointed out that they are after all only adopting what were successful experiments years ago in Minnesota and other neighboring states! So also with the Community Church of New York! Enemies—as numerous as huckleberries in the denominational machines, as scarce as hens' teeth among the common people!—are excitedly emphasizing with one breath that the movement is a menace where it is not an out-and-out madness; and, with the next breath, that it represents only what all progressive churches in all denominations are now undertaking! The hilarious self-contradiction involving in these two lines of attack seems never to be apparent to the conservative mind. Or is it that the reactionary, in the desperation of his alarm, is driven to seize any weapon, even the boomerang, which may seem momentarily to serve his purpose? J. H. H.

What Is a University?

The image that rises in the mind when we see the word "university" is often misleading, for the university in our land seems sometimes to have very little in common with the universe. It is often neither large nor broad; indeed, we have seen it during the war become in many matters narrow, coercive and autocratic. A great change has taken place, for a university was in times past a democratic institution governed by its students, not by its instructors. The modern university has, because of certain restrictive tendencies and sinister innovations, somehow given to many serious-minded American people much reason for regarding it as as a kind of close corporation, governed not by scholars but by men whose business it is, in some measure, to shield from criticism and censure the economic and political activities of the class from whom financial support is to a large extent drawn. This notion is prevalent among a large class of educationists. Of course, we know that the university is "an educational institution for superior instruction or for the examination of students already instructed." It is, according to the dictionary definition, a place of instruction, and quite naturally one expects to find wise men acting as instructors. But this does not always follow, and the modern university is not peculiar in this respect, for Paris and Oxford sometimes suffered from instructors who were not wise. What would happen today if the students of our universities were to discover that their instructors were unwise, in many important respects, it is hard to say. Far be it from me to suggest that students should behave in our time as they so often behaved in the early days of Paris and Oxford, when they did not agree with their instructors. Yet, we must consider the value of the student critic; he took a very large share in making Paris and Oxford universities where many of the world's wisest instructors spent their days in the cause of learning and humanity.

Who is to blame for the extraordinary state of affairs which seems to have come to a head during the past few years? No one who has looked deeply into this question can lay the blame wholly upon the shoulders of the instructors. My experience during the past four years, in speaking at numbers of universities and colleges, prompts me to write that the instructors are blameworthy only to the extent of submitting to a pressure which comes from without the university itself, and is indicative of the power of a system which has grown up silently, and made the universities and colleges to a tremendous extent auxiliaries of vested interest and monopoly. I know numbers of instructors who realize this condition to the full, but who, owing to the economic system under which we live, must consider the material welfare of their families, and submit with as good a grace as they can muster. It is a lamentable state of affairs, one which bodes ill for the scholarship of the next generation. It is useless to urge in support of our university system that the physical sciences and mathematics have a free field, and from this imagine that in economics, in history, in politics, the field is free. The field must be free in every department of learning, absolutely free, and no channel should be left unexplored that will serve to add to the knowledge of mankind.

But we are now approaching the period when there may be a revival of the power the student critic once held, and it is to be hoped, in the interests of learning, that the student critic will soon make his presence felt, that the revival will affect the trustees and faculties of today, as the student critic of Oxford's early days affected royalty and the papacy. Then, as now, the edict of intolerance was "Thou shalt not criticize." And where some members of the faculties would incorporate in the university system the repressive measures of an espionage act, the revival of the student critic may be hastened, and the issue joined before we are very much older.

Recently in Chicago there was a skirmish in which students and members of the faculties disagreed. It was our old friend "bolshevist" that was the cause of the trouble, the same old reprehensible agitator that was the cause of so much trouble in European universities hundreds of years ago; but the difficulty in Chicago seems to have been the short-sightedness of certain members of the faculties, who did not recognize, because of his modern habiliments, the agitator who so often upset the equanimity of a royal Plantagenet, or Tudor, or a papal dictator. This seemingly inherent short-sightedness on the part of some

members of the faculties is extremely distressing, and if not attended to, a very grave situation may arise. It would indeed be a grave situation for the university if the members of the faculties could not see that the "bolshevist" that is in front of them is no new menace to their rut comfort, but the same old menace the autocrat has had to fear for many centuries.

When student critics are reprimanded for assailing the peace terms as "the most impudent document ever devised by the hands and brains of diplomats," small wonder many thinkers despair of our universities becoming places of broad instruction and free discussion. When instructors attempt to silence political criticism with such a phrase as "the University of Chicago has been intensely patriotic and loyal," then I do not wonder at all that a skirmish between students and professors should take place. If it be intensely patriotic and loyal for a university to silence perfectly legitimate criticism of political action which has become world-wide in its significance, then I fear the day may not be long distant when modern Brunos, Galileos and Campanellas will be expelled, or otherwise abused, by the authorities.

What on earth have loyalty and patriotism, as the terms are used today, got to do with scholarship? Why, the whole history of learning teaches us that these terms, so used, have been the bane of science, and stumbling blocks to the advancement of mankind. The three Italians I have just named were "disloyal and unpatriotic," but what man of intelligence would condemn them today? One has only to turn to the histories of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Paris to find the names of scores of "disloyal and unpatriotic" citizens who today are honored the world over, and whose effigies in marble and bronze stand in the most important public places in the great cities of the world. It may be said that there is a great difference between political loyalty and patriotism and intellectual loyalty and patriotism. But this must be quite a modern notion, and anyone who is prepared to point this difference out is going to have no easy task; anyway, I am afraid that political loyalty and patriotism will in the end suffer mightily from the ordeal. On the other hand, the fundamental principles of the American constitution will never suffer violations at the hands of the student critic; indeed, it seems to me, these principles will be safer in his hands than in those of the party politicians and the supporters of vested interests. When the whole question is reduced to one of principles, there can be no argument which can effectively place the protestants of our time in the class of the disloyal and unpatriotic. And why should not a student at the University of Chicago discuss the peace treaty, or any of the economic and political problems of our time, with the same freedom that is exercised today by the students of Oxford and Cambridge? Only a few weeks ago a debate took place in one of the English universities where three labor leaders, holding extreme views, denounced the peace terms, together with the economic and political system in vogue, and no one presumed to say they were disloyal and unpatriotic.

I may be rather old-fashioned in looking back to the early days of European universities, but, after all, those of us who love the old freedom better than the paternalism of this day, may be forgiven for making a protest against anything in our university life which violates the principle that I thought, until recently, had stood the test of time. One can be loyal and patriotic to the great system which preserved the English tradition of liberty, the university system which encircled the world with scholars who spoke our language, and set up centers of learning, north and south, east and west, for all people, irrespective of race, "without let or hindrance." Our universities should be above imitating the puerilities of private societies which, through panic and fear, engage in the business of suppressing thought.

May I suggest it would do no harm if students and faculties were to consider afresh what universities were, how they came about, and what they did for the world? And may I also suggest it would be worth while, for those interested in scholarship, to look into the history of Oxford, and compare its sense of democracy in the 14th century with the undemocratic methods now practiced in some of our universities. To quote from John Richard Green's "History of the English People":

> Within this strangely mingled mass, society and government rested on a purely democratic basis. Among Oxford scholars the son of the noble stood on precisely the same footing with the poorest mendicant. Wealth, physical strength, skill in arms, pride of ancestry and blood, the very grounds on which feudal society rested, went for nothing in the lecture room. The university was a state absolutely self-governed, and whose citizens were admitted by a purely intellectual franchise. Knowledge made the "master." To know more than one's fellows was a man's sole claim to be a "ruler" in the schools: and within this intellectual aristocracy all were equal. When the free commonwealth of the masters gathered in the aisles of St. Mary's all had an equal right to counsel, all had an equal vote in the final decision. Treasury and library were at their complete disposal. It was their voice that named every officer, that proposed and sanctioned every statute. Even the Chancellor, their head, who had at first been an officer of the Bishop, became an elected officer of their own.

Not until the ties which unite our universities and colleges to vested interests are broken, shall we regain the democratic spirit which was the force that made the old European universities great centers of learning. We need a Colet and an Erasmus to deal with the problems which face us here. As they thundered in the halls of Oxford and Cambridge against the abuses of their time, so must their heirs thunder today in our halls of learning.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

CONTRIBUTED

Some Principles of the Future Religion

(A Prophecy of Progress.)

1. Religion is universal in its essentials; therefore it should emphasize its universal elements, unifying mankind, rather than insisting upon divisive differences.

2. Religion is a free spiritual fellowship, allowing liberty of conscience in interpretation of metaphysical problems.

3. The fundamental basis of religion is a life, not a creed. Religion therefore draws men together in a common standard of life, rather than on a divisive platform of sect.

4. The authority of all truth and its revelation through all great literature, science and life is the only ultimate authority. It will make all men free.

5. The leadership and saviorship of all great persons of all races and of all times, is essential to a democratic, world religion.

6. God is the creative spirit, life force, developing through evolution to fuller self expression and progressively higher achievements.

7. The highest religious act of man is consecrated co-operation with this universal creative spirit, in achieving a higher personal and social life.

8. True at-one-ment between God and man is the result of man's growth from the ego-centric life to identity with the universal will and life.

9. Recognition of the potential God-likeness of all humanity is basic to the development of self-reliance and spiritual power.

10. Faith is more than belief. It is a spiritual dynamic urging man to adventure and achievement. It is an endeavor after the unattained.

11. Prayer is aspiration, meditation, communion, not petition or praise.

12. The whole of life, not a mere segment of it, must be interpreted by a practical idealism, causing the reconstruction of the individual, the social, the political, the economic order.

13. Salvation is growth, expansion, expression through service.

14. Salvation is self-realization in harmony with the complete development of all other persons.

15. Self-realization is physical, psychical, social.

16. The sciences of Psychology and Sociology will replace the dogmatism of Theology in the new Religion.

17. If the Church is to survive, it must become untrammeled from conventionality of the past, free to express the genius of the present.

18. The Church must be free to teach internationalism, to lead men beyond wars and race prejudice, to the love of all mankind.

19. The Church must fearlessly champion every progressive measure for the building of a better world. It must take sides on every question which involves right or wrong. It must side with the masses against the classes. It must stand against capitalism, special privilege, exploitation and must champion the new co-operative commonwealth.

20. The Church must pass from sectarian control; it must be rooted in the community life; it must be a Church of the people, by the people and for the people; it must finally lead outward and upward to a world religion.

Tufts College. CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Some Social Results of Idealism

The tendency is very strong in this country to accept idealism in philosophy as a finality. In fact, it is often said that Americans are very generally idealists; and find it easy, if not necessary, to accept that conception of the universe. The philosophy of idealism assumes that mind is superior, and matter of a subordinate nature. The soul is generally regarded by it as an entity, something unique, essentially of another nature than matter. It results that the world of ideas, of mental activity, is set over against and far above that of material interests, economic demands, and what is practical. There results an essential dualism, and the conception of a spiritual or supernatural world of another order and character from that of the material world, a world either within or above the other, and not fundamentally derived from it.

Recently it has been said that philosophy began with Plato, who was one of the most pronounced of idealists. Those who indulged in philosophical thinking were charged to go back to Plato, if they would understand the true nature of philosophy. No one, it was urged, can understand philosophy unless he knows its history, and is able to trace its growth from Plato to the present time.

Truly, it is necessary to know the history of philosophical speculation if one would understand what it is presenting us at the present time. But to begin with Plato is like beginning the history of a great individual when he is fifty or more years of age. As it is impossible to ignore the story of an individual's life during his period of education, mental growth and early activities, so it is impossible to begin the history of philosophy with Plato. Many years back of his time all the great schools of philosophical speculation had been developed in India, and written out in great works we can study today, if we will. William McDougall, in his book on "Body and Mind," has shown us that all philosophy began in animism, the very first development of the speculative mind, and one reaching back to the earliest periods of the human race.

Perhaps it is because philosophers begin with Plato, and ignore all that ageless process of mental development which went before, that they have ignored some important historical implications of idealism and of the dualistic conception of the universe. Many students of social conditions existing today have been puzzled to understand why it is that some persons are held to be of a different nature than others, that some are born to rule and to be served, and that others are born to be ruled and to serve. It is not merely that there are kings and lords; and that there are slaves, serfs, and working-men. These two classes are held to be of a different nature, the one kind fundamentally superior, while the other is essentially inferior. Even that statement does not fully interpret the essential difference which has been held to subsist between them. The one class is of heavenly origin, and the other of the earth earthy. The ancestral religion and worship of the time of the great kingdoms of the ancient world will give aid in comprehending that distinction. Behind that is the earlier religion of a Heaven-god above, and an Earth-goddess or god below. Some men came from the Heaven-god and some came from the Earth-god. Some were born of heavenly fire, and some of the clay of the earth.

Some were fundamentally superior, that is, of the nature of mind or spirit; some were essentially of the nature of matter, of a cloddish and material character.

The amplest historical evidence for this social dualism might be collected; but it has never been done. All ancient literature, philosophical speculation and religious writings in most lands afford abundant proofs. Here we find the reasons for "the divine right of kings." Here also we discover why it is that lords and barons and knights have been held to be of a superior race, and to have a right to rule over those who are of a lesser nature. They rule because they were born to rule and because they are of a superior nature. Even if we assume that this rule has a purely economic basis, because they have stolen lands and property, yet it is also true that these acts of theirs have a basis in the dualistic theory of a superior nature on their part. At every stage of its development that theory links itself up with idealism, with the conception of the superiority of mind or spirit.

In the last century or two the theory of the divine rights of kings, and of those who are associated with them in their lordly prerogatives, have received some rude shocks. The rights of the common man have come to be asserted with an ever louder conviction, and the rule of the common man has grown with remarkable rapidity. Sometimes it would appear that democracy is to be in the near future the only kind of government tolerated among men. And yet, in many forms the old dualism, with its conception of racial and individual superiorities, gets repeated constantly, and with vehement insistence. Nietzsche and his superman are widely accepted, and with loud acclaim. In the name of science it is asserted that we must produce a group of individuals capable of ruling over the vast mob of common men. Otherwise, it is asserted, the world will no longer go forward on the ways of progress. Working-men are regarded as rebellious, radical, fanatical, and needing to be held in check by the wise and capable. Such are some of the rebirths of the divine rights of kings, and of the ancient social dualism which assumes that some are born to rule and others to be ruled.

In view of these social facts, which might be extended to great length, it may be questioned if we shall ever have a genuine conception of the democratic idea while the ancient dualism remains in vogue. It may be queried if some men will not be held to be essentially superior to others, fit to rule and to provide the law by which the inferior ones are ruled, while it is maintained that mind is fundamentally superior to matter, spirit to things material, mental activities to those which are economic. While philosophy and religion maintain the old dualism, and justify the belief that mind is superior to matter, mental to material interests, spiritualism to materialism, we may be certain that the superman will be vindicated, and the antagonisms of capital and labor remain. If the philosophical dualism goes on, we may be certain that the democratic idea of equality will not be universally accepted.

One other phase of this dualism fundamental to philosophical idealism must not be overlooked. It is of great historical interest. Why have women been held to be inferior to men, and socially, as well as politically, placed in a subordinate position? Historically the reason for this position assigned to women is to be found in the fact that men have been held to be essentially of the nature of mind, while women have been regarded as of the qualities of matter. As we have seen, mind has been regarded as vastly superior to matter, and therefore men have been accepted as equally superior to women. In China, India, Greece, and widely elsewhere, here is the philosophical basis for the inferiority of woman. She is of the earth earthy, as he is of the heavens heavenly. The evidence here is overwhelmingly in extent, and of a nature which does not permit of doubt as to its validity.

Although, according to the old idealism, some men are greatly inferior to others, yet man as masculine is greatly superior to woman. He is born to rule over her, as some men are born to rule over others. With reference to women all men are as kings, and are gifted with divine rights. This is the philosophical basis for the headship of man in the family. Within that sphere he is a king, and he has divine right to rule there. As God rules in heaven, an autocrat whose will no one must dispute, so man rules in the family, an autocrat whom no one must dare to question. What he wills is supreme, a law applying to all who come within the reach of his authority.

What we may recognize is that the very nature of idealism is changing, and has changed. Philosophy and psychology are disputing the validity of the old dualism. No longer do we put mind and matter over against each other in the manner of the early idealists. Some philosophers claim that mind is all, others that matter is fundamental. Others accept parallelism, but not community of nature. And yet others are assuming that mind and matter are of one nature, either different phases of one primary substance or that mind is only another phase of what we know as matter. What is most significant about these speculations is the fact that they assume that the old dualism no longer holds good. A new philosophy is developing in our time, that of realism, which rejects dualism as causing a primary antagonism between mind and matter. Perhaps its chief worth is, that it discards dualism as having no meaning for modern thinking.

With the growth of democracy, the conception of the fundamental equality of men; and with the advancement of women to a social and political position entitling them to all rights possessed by men, it is no longer possible to justify idealism by the old arguments. The divine rights of kings have disappeared. The right of one man to dominate the lives of other men is growing less year by year. No longer do we regard the headship of man in the family entitling him to rule over wife and children with a rod of iron.

These social developments are bringing about remarkable changes in politics and religion and philosophy alike. We no longer believe that some men are born to rule and that others are born to be ruled. We are coming to refuse to set material causes over against those which are spiritual. We are learning to think in terms of unity rather than in those of duality; and we therefore are coming to reject the antagonism of mind and matter. In some degree we are also declining to accept one rule for heaven and another for earth. We cannot any longer think of God as autocrat or even as a personal will that must subordinate all other wills.

George Willis Cooke.

Angels of Victory

It was in Zürich on the day after my arrival that a letter came from home describing with enthusiasm Chicago's preparations for the great Victory loan. Michigan Avenue was gay with flags and flower pots and streamers and all along it there were golden angels of victory. I read it with bewilderment, it did not seem believable. . . .

In Paris the well-to-do seemed to be living quite as usual. But when we met them we noticed a distinct atmosphere of hostility and of apprehensiveness. They were frankly hostile to America as the country which was trying to keep from them the full fruits of victory. And they were quite desperately afraid of what their own people might do if they discovered that they were not to have all that had rashly been promised them. We were told there would be a revolution on May first, then when that date passed it was postponed to July fourteenth. And along with this fear of actual upheaval, there seemed to be a desperate sense of the pass to which France has been brought by the war and from which no indemnities, annexations, mandates over colonies can possibly deliver her. I went over to St. Sulpice to hear Widor play the organ. As I walked through the student quarter I saw the walls placarded with appeals from numberless newly formed leagues and associations—for the regeneration of France, for the restoration of family life, the control of venereal disease, the increase of the birth rate, the awakening of a moral sense in the young, the abandonment of party politics for a united effort against Bolshevism, all betraying the fear that France in the hour of victory is sick with many diseases.

The next stage was the devastated regions, five days of motoring through the battlefields of the Aisne, the Oise, Vimy Ridge, the Champagne and the Argonne, days in which we saw town after town in ruins, deathly still, the houses like skeletons with empty, staring eyes, and, even more heart-breaking, the little villages of gray stone cottages, so helpless before modern high explosives, like kittens shot down with cannon balls. And miles and miles of battlefields strewn with ugly junk, rolls of rusty barbed wire, heaps of unexploded shells, abandoned tanks sprawling like dead monsters. The trees were torn and twisted into scarecrow shapes. The skies were gray and most of the time a bitterly cold rain fell on all the desolation, on what was most desolate of all, the heaps of mud and the wooden crosses under which lie Canadian, British, French, German and American soldiers. No, whatever aspect victory bears in France, it is not that of an angel. . . .

Even statistics became vivid when we heard them from the German and Austrian women to whom they were the facts of every-day life. They told us of children two and three years old who have never learned to walk and who have never tasted milk, children who cannot resist the least infection, who die because of an ordinary cold or digestive upset. The Vienna mothers give their babies the breast as long as they can, sometimes eighteen months, but as soon as they are weaned the little things begin to lose weight and stop growing. The older children, boys and girls of twelve to fifteen, are dying of tuberculosis in great and increasing numbers, the death rate from tuberculosis for those years has risen one hundred and forty per cent. Sometimes these children look fairly well until one asks their age, and then it appears that they have lost three years, the boy who seems ten years old is really thirteen.

The bread ration in Vienna is two and a half pounds a week, but twelve and a half per cent of the flour used must be made up of finely ground sawdust. It is not enough for a working man, but it is more than most can buy, especially since the introduction of the excessively dear American flour has sent the price up till it is now ten times the normal price of bread. Our food is indeed going into Austria, but of course, according to an act of Congress, it must all be paid for, and with no raw materials for industry there are no wages with which to buy bread. To be sure the new Socialistic government is trying to make the rich pay the excess price and let the poor have bread cheaply, but so far it is only partially successful. And so families and communities are forced into the position of primitive tribes who must deliberately decide which of the people are most useless and are to be left to die for the sake of the rest. The young must be saved, they must have what food there is, the old men and women must starve. They are dying in thousands now. Vienna has so many pauper dead that a great new cemetery has had to be taken over for them. Every two or three days a thousand bodies have accumulated and these are wrapped in heavy paper and packed into empty trolley cars at night and buried in great trenches dug to hold a thousand at once.

If victory must be made out of the bodies of tiny boys and girls and helpless, broken old people, there may be those who will welcome it, but nobody can say it bears the form of an angel.

Is it really victory after all? Are not the conquerors almost as disillusioned and apprehensive as the conquered? Certainly over here in Europe it seems so. All these rumors of the growing sense of internationalism among the workers in the countries of neutrals and of the Entente, their more and more openly expressed repudiation of the peace of Versailles—"Let the Germans sign as the Russians signed at Brest-Litovsk and then let them work as the Russians worked for the revolution which will sweep away an imperialistic peace." All this threatens the very structure of victory. And the only weapons the governments seem to have at their command, repression of speech, censorship of the press, these have failed in eastern Europe and may at any moment fail in western Europe. While the old statesmen barter and haggle at Versailles, they cannot help knowing that the great menace lies not so much in conquered Germany as in the strange new passions let loose by the war in the "liberated countries" and in their own lands.

We call ourselves officially a Christian nation, though anyone who suggests that Christ's teachings should influence our national policies is thought a fanatic and a fool. That has always been true of every state in every age, and yet in spite of this practical repudiation of the words of Christ they do somehow survive and each succeeding generation accepts them. It must be that deep down in their hearts men know that these words are true and that history vindicates them, for if not they would have long since sunk into forgetfulness. Perhaps this war may again vindicate them. Perhaps we may come to see that

they who appear to be the victors have lost the things that really matter, and that the losers may in the end have won them; that they who drew the sword have perished by the sword, while the dumb, meek masses whom they led into war remain to possess the earth. Perhaps we may come to look on the so-called peace-makers at Paris as men who had ears to hear and heard not, and whom we shall liken to a foolish man which built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it. —*Alice Hamilton.*

The New Republic.

News from Europe

The British Monroe Dostrine.

The agitation in America for Irish Home Rule has not only vexed Sir Edward Carson but it has angered the stolid superior *Spectator*. In an editorial we are told to observe the British Monroe Doctrine. For those of our readers who are ignorant of the British brand, we may say that it is not similar to ours. Whether the *Spectator* imagines Messrs. Walsh and Dunne wish to annex Ireland or not is not clear, but the following excerpt from its editorial is most amusing:

If Mr. Lloyd George, when he saw the beginnings of this feeling in America, instead of granting passports to persons whom he must have known to be irresponsible agitators, had let it be known to the American Executive and to the leaders of public opinion in America that the sure way to prevent us assenting to the Home Rule agitation was hostile pressure to do so organized in America by the enemies of Britain and the friends of Germany, and backed by the "remainder biscuit" of the Bernstorff funds, no misunderstanding on this point could have arisen. If we imagine the Prime Minister using plain and straight words in circumstances such as we have described, he would have gone on to say something of this kind: "Every nation has its Monroe Doctrine. The Americans, wisely as we think, hold the doctrine of "Hands off South and Central America!" That is a doctrine which the British Government have not only never challenged, but have always supported. We have a similar doctrine: "Hands off the British Empire!" Following here the example of our kinsmen, we will not in any circumstances allow any tampering with our Monroe Doctrine. Any proffered interference with the British Empire and with our right of self-government and self-determination will be not only rejected, no matter what the consequences, threatened or implied, but will be resented with the utmost indignation by the whole people.

That would have been a warning which would have been well worth giving, and one which no true American would have in the least resented. But remember when we say this we do not want to interfere ourselves with American domestic concerns any more than Americans ultimately wish to interfere with ours. If the Americans choose to allow or encourage cryptic attacks on the policy of this country by irresponsible agitators, we shall think it a pity, but we shall not dream of making it the ground of official complaint as long as the American Government take no part in the matter. We shall not even officially show resentment if the Senate is foolish enough to sacrifice its dignity as one of the greatest deliberative bodies in the world in order to interfere where it has no power to carry out its inteference. We shall not retort by asking the House of Lords to dictate to America on the negro question, the question of the treatment of the Japanese in the Western States, or on American policy in the Philippines or in Haiti or Santo Domingo. As we have said before, and as we shall no doubt often have cause to say again, be the effervescence of newspaper articles and the platform talk what it will, we know that we have the best and most enlightened part of American opinion on our side.

Who Began the War?

Miss M. E. Durham is not very well known to Americans; we are not familiar with any of the valuable work she has performed in the Balkans. Yet there is no one in Europe who understands the people of the stormy peninsula as she does. Here is a particularly interesting letter she has written to the London *Nation* on the Serajevo murderers:

Sir: A paragraph of the highest significance appeared in the *Star* of June 13th and has passed without comment:

"The Serajevo Murderers. A message from Prague to Amsterdam (says the *Central News*) announces that the bodies of Princip, Cabrinovic and Grabez, the Serajevo murderers, were exhumed on Tuesday with great solemnity, in the presence of thousands of the inhabitants. The remains of these Serbian officers are to be sent to their native country."

This report, which I believe has not been contradicted, comes from Prague, a Slav town which is in a position to be well informed. Up till now the Serbs have strenuously denied all connection with the murderers. It has been repeatedly stated they were not Serbs and the report was widely spread, and believed by many, that they were agents of the Kaiser and had acted under German instruction. That German agents guilty of committing the deed which caused Europe to be swamped with blood and misery for four years should now be receiving public honors at the hands of the Serbs would be one of the most astonishing events of history. But we are told that the "remains of these Serbian officers are to be sent to their native country," which is presumably Serbia. Why, then, have we always officially been told that they were not Serbs? The Serb students in England, at any rate, have cheerfully recognized that Princip was a Serb and have freely circulated a postcard portrait of him inscribed "the celebrated Serbian revolutionary." The lettering being in Serb its meaning has doubtless escaped the vigilance of the authorities here. One of these same students also admitted to an Englishman working among them that the bomb-throwing was taught at Shabatz. Another, I am told, described Princip as "the brave Serbian student who dared kill the Archduke and start the war." I cannot forget that in 1913 at the time of the first Balkan war the cry of the Serb people was, "If we do not get all we want we will set Europe on fire."

Is it not time that a fresh investigation be made into the responsibility for the war? The *Star* paragraph indicates that the Serbs do not reckon these murderers as agents of the Kaiser. And the Powers that be, who have decided that the Kaiser is not to be tried for responsibility in starting the war, are also presumably aware that Princip and Cabrinovic were not acting on his behalf. On whose did they act? If we want peace that will last we must have the truth. The Serbs have, it appears, owned the murderers. Will they shoulder the responsibility of the war? Their inordinate claims in Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, their evident desire to fight Italy who helped to free them, all point to the growth of a new imperialism which will be fatal to the peace of the Near East. Were these demands part of a pre-arranged plan?

M. E. Durham.

Sinn Fein: its meaning.

In a criticism of P. S. O'Hegarthy's book on "Sinn Fein: An Illumination," a London reviewer says:

Sinn Fein is a policy which it is easy to understand and easier still to misunderstand. Those who prefer to misunderstand it say that "Sinn Fein" means "Ourselves Alone." Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Samuel have both attacked it on this ground. "Sinn Fein," unfortunately for them, does not mean "Ourselves Alone" any more than "God Save the King" means "God Save the King Alone." It means simply "Ourselves." The name was chosen to indicate not a policy of national selfishness but a policy of national self-reliance in contrast to a policy of waiting for the good will of the British Parliament to make Ireland a nation. Even when the phrase, "Ourselves Alone" ("Sinn Fein Amháin") is used, it is used in the same sense. It has no other meaning than that it is upon the courage, self-sacrifice, unity and exertions of Irishmen themselves that the future of the Irish nation depends. "The basis of the policy," Mr. Arthur Griffith, who founded it, has said, "is national self-reliance. No law and no series of laws can make a nation

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The year 1919 is rich in anniversaries of great men and women.

At the present writing honor has been paid to the memory of James Russell Lowell, Julia Ward Howe and Walt Whitman. Not least among these honored names is that of George Eliot. She was born November 22, 1819.

Rev. Eleanor Gordon, so well known in Unitarian and Liberal circles for her Unity Club work, has been a student of this famous woman's writing for many years and she plans to give next fall a series of loctures in her honor.

The series will consists of three lectures, "George Eliot and the Victorian Period," "George Eliot, the Philosopher," and "George Eliot, the Artist." For terms address Eleanor Gordon, Hamilton, Ill.

PROHIBITION.

Editor:

A few years ago, when the fight was on for prohibition, some of the thoughtful colored people, as well as some of the thoughtful white people, believed that prohibition would actually work a hardship on the colored people from the standpoint of employment.

Upon my return from France I set out to investigate the effect of prohibition and law enforcement on the colored people, with the following result:

During the past year and a half 500 colored families have purchased real estate holdings of the value of more than $1,000,000.

Employes of hotels and clubs are earning more money than they earned in "wide-open days," and their earnings, more than ever before, are going into their homes and to their families.

More colored men and women, in proportion to their numbers, are engaged in gainful occupations than ever before in the history of Omaha.

The colored churches have grown and prospered as never before and their influence is now predominant among the colored people. Two of the colored churches have a membership of more than 1,000 each, and several of the others number theirs in hundreds. Zion Baptist Church has just raised $10,000 and St. John's A. M. E. Church has just followed with $7,000. Two new churches have been erected by colored congregations in this period. The pastors of these churches assure me that such progress was not possible when the rule of "dives" and "joints" prevailed.

Large employers of colored labor in various industries here note the improvement in their employes under present conditions.

I thank the *Daily News* for its uniformally fair treatment of the colored people, and I shall hope it will be able to get the proper viewpoint of one who is charged with a part of the leadership of a race that labors under the handicaps that caste and prejudice impose.

Omaha Daily News.

A CALL TO TEACHERS.

Prof. J. Russell Smith, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, who has good reason to know the strong influence upon schol children of the textbooks used by them, writes:

"One day last winter, white examining a grammar-school geography, I was struc kby the idea that such text-books might be a substantial aid in creating an attitude of sympathy aind tolerance in the minds of the boys and girls who use them.

"With this idea in mind, I am attempting to write a grammarschool text in geography, which shall cover the same ground as such standard texts as Tarr and McMurry, Frye, Brigham and McFarlane.

"If any person, teacher or otherwise has any idea as to how such a text can create sympathy, tolerance and an attitude of fair dealing among peoples, I should be most grateful to receive it, and shal do my best to utilize it.

"The best that we can hope for the League of Nations is that it may get a start in the immediate future. Such start can be but a weak beginning. The League will succeed or fall according to the way it is regarded by the boys and girls who are under ten years of age, and by those yet unborn. We should seize every possible way to create opinion which will gradually reduce international *hoggishness,* and make possible the age-long and everbaffled hope of peace among nations.

—*Friends' Intelligencer.*

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out of a people which distrusts itself." The spectacle of the statesmen of a great empire which has just added to its dominions Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine and immense tracts of Africa, taunting Ireland with pursuing a policy of selfish ambition is more ironical than inspiring.

Dr. Pusey and Ascot Races.

Dr. Pusey, the great tractarian leader, made his home at Ascot when not at Oxford. This once led to an amusing blunder. A sporting parson, visiting Christ Church during this week of June for "Commem," asked Osborne Gordon, the censor and a famous wit, how Dr. Pusey was going on, and was told that he had gone to Ascot. "Eh? What? God bless my soul!" exclaimed the astonished cleric. "You don't mean to tell me that old Pusey has gone racing at his time of life?" "Well," wickedly replied Gordon, "I can tell you for certain that he is maing a book at Ascot." The "book" Dr. Pusey was "making" happened to be his voluminous commentary on the "Minor Prophets," but his clerical admirer left Oxford with an ideal sadly shattered.

Trade Barriers and the Next War.

Mr. J. M. Robertson, a member of the War Ministry, presided over a luncheon at the National Liberal Club, London, at which Major G. H. Putnam, president of the American Free Trade Union, was the principal guest and speaker.

Major Putnam said that even after the League of Nations came into operation, dissatisfactions and minor quarrels would be inevitable, but if the English speaking nations held together they could keep order and so bring about the commencement of a form of civilized government for the whole world.

An important condition for the successful working of the League, and even for the union of the English speaking peoples, was the final breaking down of trade barriers. No one had suggested taxing goods sent to relieve the population of stricken areas, and that was an example of the common sense lesson learned from the war, namely, that when the world was in need, the transit of goods from one part to another must not be hampered by trade barriers. And the world was always in need.

The people of the world would not stand for another war because they realized that, as the result of the progress of science, another war would wipe out civilization. Bombs dropped from the air would not destroy houses but whole cities. A gas cloud would wipe out not merely regiments but whole armies, whilst submarines would be sufficiently powerful to starve islands and countries. The way to avoid such a calamity was to set up a League of Nations based on mutual respect, mutual obligation and justice for all, with free and unrestricted trade throughout the world.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

A LONDON OPINION

Spoken March 23, 1919

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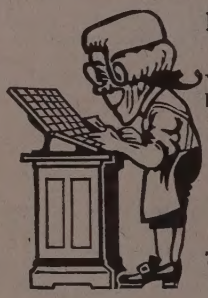

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